1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1



and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

## CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

## HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

## CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

## THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tzu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 664 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

## IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

### *The Public Irrigation System*

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

*Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations*

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $500 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

## PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

#534 taken very seriously. It is usually not until a daughter is at least sixteen years old and a son at least eighteen that their families will begin to think seriously about their marriage. The stimulus is often a suggestion from some friend or relative who is interested in acting as go-between. Theoretically, the preferred patrilocal marriage is always initiated by the male's family, but in fact most marriages of this kind are initiated by a go-between. Almost every woman of forty years of age or more is a potential marriage broker, and many elderly women manage to turn the role of go-between into a fairly lucrative [435] business. The fee for arranging a marriage in Hsiachichou in 1960 was approximately NT$1000, something more than a good month's salary. The result is that as soon as a family has a child of marriageable age there begins what one informant described as "old ladies coming and going all day and talking about this and talking about that."

A well known Hokkien proverb declares that marriages are made by go-betweens, and there is a great deal of truth in this. It is impossible to have a marriage in Hsiachichou without a go-between. She is the match-maker and confidante; she is the honest broker who negotiates the bride price on one side and the dowry on the other; she is the master of ceremonies at the wedding; and after the wedding she becomes the disinterested but sympathetic third party who is always available to mediate marital conflicts. Even when the match is already decided upon the services of a go-between are required to effect the union. One young village man who was himself an orphan asked a young woman whom he had met at work to marry him, and when she agreed he then hired a go-between

*597 *584 554 so mad that they said they were going to burn the go-between with firecrackers when she came to get her "red packet," and so the go-between didn't dare to come and get her money. My father's brother was an important man, and so she didn't dare come.... The reason my family only chose to give a girl to families with sons was to save a lot of trouble and because it sounded better. When an adopted daughter marries out of her foster family, people say, "Oh, that woman who married twice!"

*597 *584 *583 • [495] This difference in attitude towards the two forms of adoption is reflected in the size of the bride price given in the two cases. Whereas the bride price in the case of sǐm-pûà form of adoption is usually only a token of fifty or sixty dollars, the bride price in the case of the lông-lù form of adoption is often four or five hundred dollars. The family who adopts a girl without having a son for her to marry apparently has to compensate her parents for the loss of face they suffer in giving a girl away in this manner. Although this is only speculation, it is perhaps for this reason that a lông-lù adoption is sometimes spoken of as though it were a financial transaction. A sǐm-pûà is always spoken of as having "married out" of her natal family, even before she actually becomes a wife, but the lông-lù is sometimes said to have been "sold." The term is often used scornfully, and implies something of the low regard in which this form of adoption is held.

*597 357 648 This negative attitude towards the lông-lù form of adoption stems in part from its having become identified with the adoption of girls as domestics. Hoping to eliminate the abuses resulting from the adoption of cā-bó-kàn, the Japanese colonial government attempted to outlaw such adoptions. Under the Japanese civil code one could

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīn-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīn-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cā-kó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sǐm-pûà to lông-lù" (sǐm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

178 less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at
511
463 all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some
[427] percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed
511 by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in
435 Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a bíng-lí̍ng-kì: . There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

nothing less than a small fortune. A go-between acting for some local party could usually get as much as a year's income for a male child, and dealers who bought male children on Taiwan for resale in Amoy would sometimes offer even more. The returns from the sale of a male child would at the very least enable a family to replace a thatch roof with tile, and it might even finance the purchase of a small plot of land or provide the capital for a small business undertaking. Since a family's regular income went almost entirely for food and other daily essentials, it was only by such means that a family might obtain the capital for any major investment. We must also remember that it was not the parents of the child who decided his fate. Most children are born during that phase of the family cycle at which their grandparents are still alive and active, and in the years before 1930 this senior generation had complete and final authority over all decisions concerning marriage and adoption. Although one can understand that a parent with only one male child would be reluctant to sell him for any price, one can imagine that a grandparent with several grandchildren might find it somewhat easier to part with one of his sons' male children.

While there were good reasons for a family to sell one of its male children, there were even more important considerations weighing against such a decision. As we have seen in the last chapter, male children are the focal concern of the Hokkien family. It is by means of his male descendants that a man fulfills his most important responsibilities as son and grandson, and it is with reference to his male offspring that a person calculates the achievement of his own lifetime. If a

*597 more than one of their female children. We know that in three of these
*562 nine cases several children in the family had died shortly before the
*593 second daughter was born. Since families in which children have recently died often see the birth of their next child as a sign of a change in their fortunes, it is possible that these three girls were kept because of their significance in terms of the family's previous losses. At least this was suggested to us by the mother of one of these girls who told us that her family had decided not to give away the second girl "because we had been having such bad luck with our children. Three of them died before she was born, and we were so glad that she didn't die that we couldn't give her away."

*597 As we have already mentioned in describing the various forms of
554 marriage and adoption in Hsiachichou, the sĭm-pûa̍ form of adoption is generally viewed as more prestigeful than the lông-lū form of adoption. Several village women said that they didn't like the idea of giving a child away as a lông-lū "because people would talk about it." The compensating advantage of a lông-lū adoption is that the bride price is
• [435] usually somewhat larger than in the case of a sĭm-pûa̍ adoption. The bride price for a sĭm-pûa̍ is a nominal seventy or eighty dollars, but a family can often ask as much as five or six hundred dollars for a lông-lū. We might therefore expect to find some relationship between a family's income and the likelihood of their giving out their daughters as lông-lū
*597 or sĭm-pûa̍. Having money and the status which money creates, wealthy
556 families should be less concerned about the size of the bride price and more concerned about face. As a result, they should be more likely to

childless families. Of 35 girls born into childless families 2 (6 percent) were given away in adoption, and of 25 girls born into families with at least one daughter but no sons 3 (12 percent) were given away in adoption. The only relatively high rate of adoption in these later years is among those girls born into families with both male and female children. Of 78 girls born into such families 29 (37 percent) were given away in adoption. While the younger generations who were in authority after 1930 were less inclined to give away their female children, they appreantly did take into account much the same kinds of considerations as had entered into the decisions of the senior generations before 1930.

The same point might be made in relation to decisions concerning male adoption. As in the years before 1930, male children are still very much in demand on Taiwan. In 1960 we recorded a case in which a family living in the town of Hsulin paid NT$5000 for a male child, and we were told by informants in Hsiachichou that the more common price for a male child is somewhere between NT$6000 and NT$7000. Since this amount of money is equivalent to half a year's income for most village families, one might assume that if the basic value of male children had changed at least a few families would have sold one of their sons. The fact is, however, that now that most families are better off than they were in the earlier decades of this century, even fewer families sell a male child than in the years before 1930, and this despite the fact that most families have more sons than they did earlier. We know that 8 of the 118 boys born into the village before

583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the advantages of the sīm-pûà marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sīm-pûà, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sīm-pûà marriage.

When asked why they adopted a sīm-pûà for a son, villagers usually begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûa, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

*597 records only 4 cases of male adoption in the years before 1930, and only
562 4 more in the years after 1930. For reasons which we have discussed earlier, it is always difficult for a family to arrange to adopt a khe-páng-kiá:. Most families value their male children so highly that they are not willing to part with one of them simply because of the plight of a relative. There is no great compensation, and the loss is considerable. In the years before 1930 no family living in Hsiachichou adopted a male child from an agnate of another kẻ, and we know of
[432] only one case of such an adoption in the years since 1930. The family which wants to adopt a son must almost always buy the child from a stranger or a professional dealer, and this involves difficulties so serious as to discourage most families from undertaking an adoption.

*577 One of these difficulties is, of course, the very expense of buying
556 a male child. Many families cannot manage to accumulate the necessary
[435] six or seven thousand dollars, and those who can are usually unwilling to spend so much money on a gamble. If they could be certain that they were not going to bear male children of their own, a family would probably be willing to spend all they could possibly afford to obtain a son, but they cannot be certain and the price is very high. They therefore hesitate in the hope that they may eventually have children of their own. The importance of the consideration of the costs of buying a male child is apparent from the fact that it has only been the wealthiest families in the village which have adopted male children. Three of the 8 adoptions by families living in Hsiachichou were among those few families which own the majority of the village land and one other adoption was

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money
because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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159 596 607 understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she 159 596 607 244 434 talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

[443] "When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

596 159 607 434 435 "When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me [231] NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this [244] much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[437] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade lower 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

natural vegetation and forestation but much is being developed. A considerable quantity of the mountain land in Sanlei and also outside village boundaries is owned by the government. Some has been purchased by villagers for the government is encouraging its development. Prior to 1962, it was leased by the government for 25% of the main crop but now, rent is fixed and reasonable, on long-term leases at $380.00 per chia per year. The current price of mountain land is about $20,000.00 per chia if undeveloped and ranging up to $100,000.00 per chia if planted with excellent crops such as mature fruit trees.

The remaining categories are important but not economically significant. Houseland land is that on which the house is built but also includes the very small vegetable gardens adjacent to the houses. Vegetable gardens are located near the house so as to be convenient for the deposit of night soil. Burial land takes up a considerable part of the community. As previously stated, this area has many good feng shui locations, most of them on steep slopes. Other types of land categories include temple, roads, and worthless plots.

The vast majority of the land in Sanlei remains either owner-cultivated or leased from the government. Moreover, the owner-cultivators tend to live in Sanlei or an adjacent village. Some tenants are renting from a fellow villager as illustrated by the neighbor who leases

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilized field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primar-
462 ily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption
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474 are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

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433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hain Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 65 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hain Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

313 [443] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

311 [435] A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[435] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

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**Table 5. Financial Statement, Liao Mou-tu Chia**

**Net Worth**

| | |
|---|---|
| $ 110,000 | .8 chia self-owned paddy field |
| 36,000 | .3 chia self-owned dry field, vegetables |
| 162,000 | 1.8 chia self-owned improved slope land |
| 50,000 | improvements on 2.1 chia leased slope land |
| 5,000 | self-owned house and garden land |
| 30,000 | building, pig pen, share of kung t'ing |
| 15,000 | furniture and household contents |
| 5,000 | farm equipment |
| 1,500 | current worth of livestock |
| 6,200 | credits at farmers' association and cooperative |
| 2,000 | cash on hand |
| $ 422,700 | Net Worth (Omits value of crops in field) |

**Yearly Income**

| | |
|---|---|
| $ 30,000 | Oranges |
| 5,000 | Hogs |
| 8,000 | Tea |
| 3,500 | Bamboo Shoots |
| 10,000 | Wood |
| 2,000 | Vegetables |
| $ 58,500 | Yearly Cash Income |

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**Yearly Expenses**

| | |
|---|---|
| $ 21,000 | Food purchased to supplement own crops |
| 6,400 | Food and drinks for special celebrations |
| 1,200 | Educational Fees (six children in school) |
| 2,500 | Medical expenses (one son was quite ill) |
| 6,000 | Fertilizer |
| 2,000 | Insecticide |
| 400 | Farm tools |
| 3,000 | Weddings, funerals, sworn brothers, etc. |
| 1,500 | Taxes not in kind |
| 500 | Rent for water buffalo |
| 800 | Rent on land |
| 1,200 | Transportation of oranges to market |
| 1,000 | Electricity |
| 1,200 | Cigarettes, wine, tea |
| 1,500 | Contributions to temple, school, civic works |
| 1,800 | Clothing |
| $ 52,000 | Net Expenses |

**Yearly Net Profit** (Income less Expenses)

$ 6,500

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

| Birth Order | Number |
|---|---|
| 1 | 8 |
| 2 | 5 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 6 |
| 5 | 4 |
| 6 | 3 |
| 7 | 2 |
| Total | 31 |

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaoyiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-5; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later sisosiv marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the Law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[361] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because [491] there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased 431 from funds contributed by business men and wealthier 626 land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property 625 owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each 435

625 participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As
435 stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes
573 count the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Chiang go to the police station in Fouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and
648 had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a
191 difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Chiang on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

she would worship there twice each month the rest of her life and since he recovered, she has continued now for about 25 years.

The final set of holy places are the various tombs for as previously stated, the Sanlei area has many excellent burial sites. One elaborate tomb recently was constructed at a cost of over $200,000.00 ($5,000.00 U.S.). Villagers usually avoid outsider's tombs, but tombs of their own ancestors receive periodic attention. There is special worship on regular days throughout the year and the individual worship as necessary. The tomb location is considered significant for family propserity.

The Home Worship Center or Kung T'ing

The kung t'ing, which is the central room in every house or compound, is a ritual center but serves multiple uses in addition as a main workroom, storage place, living-dining room, etc. (Gallin, 1966:239-40). When a household divides, there is usually a continued sharing of the kung t'ing. The appointments are similar throughout the village (see Figure 4). On the wall across from the main door is the ancestral table (one foot deep, five feet long, and four feet high) which holds wine cups in sets of three, ancestral tablets if any, death memorial boards, perhaps some god's statues and incense pots. A few tables have only one pot but most have two or more, one of which will

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
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435 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
[585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location